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DRAFTED BY: AF/C: TPMCCULLEY  
APPROVED BY: AF/FO: EPBRYNN  
AF/C: RJFENDRICK  
AF/C: AXRENDER

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC  
TO AMEMBASSY ASMARA IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 017016

FOR A/S MOOSE FROM ED BRYNN

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR  
TAGS: AMGT  
SUBJECT: OFFICIAL-INFORMAL

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT

2. I HAVE ATTACHED BRIEFING PAPERS PREPARED BY AF/C ON  
ZAIRO, RWANDA, AND BURUNDI FOR YOUR USE AT THE JANUARY 24  
TRILATERAL MEETINGS IN PARIS.

3. ZAIRO

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TO: AF - MR. MOOSE  
  
THROUGH: AF - MR. BRYNN  
  
FROM: AF/C - ARLENE RENDER  
  
SUBJECT: THE JANUARY 24 PARIS TRILATERAL MEETING  
WITH  
- FRANCE AND BELGIUM ON ZAIRO - UPDATE

FASTBREAKING EVENTS IN KINSHASA MAY MAKE THIS UPDATE OLD  
EVEN BEFORE YOUR MEETING MONDAY WITH THE FRENCH AND  
BELGIANS, BUT EMBASSY KINSHASA HAS PROMISED A SUMMARY OF

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE

REVIEW AUTHORITY:  
HARRY R. MELONE

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RECENT EVENTS ALONG WITH SOME RECOMMENDATIONS.

FOLLOWING MOBUTU'S JANUARY 14 ADDRESS, TSHISEKEDI CALLED FOR A GENERAL STRIKE ON WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 19. THE "VILLE MORTE" WAS WIDELY OBSERVED, BUT NO INCIDENTS OF VIOLENCE WERE REPORTED. TSHISEKEDI'S NEIGHBORHOOD WAS INVESTED BRIEFLY WITH TROOPS, BUT THE SOLDIERS DID NOT ENTER HIS RESIDENTIAL COMPOUND AND WERE WITHDRAWN THE FOLLOWING DAY. THE POLITICAL MACHINATIONS CONTINUE IN KINSHASA: THE "OLD" HCR WILL MEET ON SATURDAY, JANUARY 22 TO CONSIDER THE TRANSITION ACCORDS. IF APPROVED, THE HCR HAS AGREED TO MEET ON SUNDAY, JANUARY 23 AS THE EXPANDED HCR-PARLIAMENT OF TRANSITION. THE NEW BODY WOULD ORGANIZE ITSELF, AND THEN BEGIN DELIBERATIONS ON THE NEW PRIME MINISTER. MULUMBA LUKOJI WILL BE A CANDIDATE, AS WILL BIRINDWA; TSHISEKEDI WILL SPEAK AT A PRESS CONFERENCE THE EVENING OF JANUARY 21.

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GIVEN THE FLUID SITUATION IN KINSHASA, THE TRILATERAL PARTNERS MAY BE PRESENTED WITH AN INTERIM GOVERNMENT BACKED BY THE MAJORITY OF THE OPPOSITION (SANS TSHISEKEDI). WE SHOULD BE CAUTIOUS IN OUR ACTIONS, AND MAINTAIN OUR POLICY OF SUPPORT FOR PROCESS ABOVE PERSONALITIES.

B1

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN KINSHASA DO NOT, HOWEVER, CHANGE THE THRUST OF OUR POLICY. EVEN IF A POLITICAL COMPROMISE HAS BEEN OR WILL BE NEGOTIATED IN KINSHASA, IT SEEMS LIKELY THAT MOBUTU WILL CONTINUE TO INTERFERE IN THE WORK OF AN INTERIM GOVERNMENT. WE SHOULD MAKE CLEAR TO FRANCE AND BELGIUM OUR INTENTION TO REMAIN ENGAGED IN THE TRILATERAL PROCESS, AND THAT WE WILL REMAIN INVOLVED IN AND SUPPORTIVE OF DIPLOMATIC EFFORTS TO MOVE THE TRANSITION FORWARD. WE SHOULD, HOWEVER, LAY DOWN CERTAIN REQUIREMENTS WHICH MAY NEED TO BE MET IN ORDER TO KEEP THE TRILATERAL GROUP TOGETHER ON ALL FRONTS.

WE MUST CONTINUE TO EMPHASIZE PROCESS,

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IN RETURN, WE SHOULD BE

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PREPARED TO OUTLINE WHAT UNILATERAL ACTIONS THE UNITED STATES IS CONTEMPLATING SHOULD THE TRANSITION TO DEMOCRACY REMAIN STALLED.

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SUGGESTED TALKING POINTS ARE ATTACHED SHOULD YOU WISH TO DRAW ON THEM DURING THE TRILATERAL MEETINGS.

TALKING POINTS

- WE VALUE THE CLOSE CONSULTATION AND COOPERATION WE HAVE MAINTAINED ON ZAIRE. THE UNITED STATES IS NOT PREPARED TO ABANDON THE TRILATERAL PROCESS, BUT CONDITIONS IN THE U.S. AND ON THE GROUND IN KINSHASA MAY REQUIRE US TO TAKE STRONGER MEASURES AGAINST MOBUTU.
- MOBUTU'S LATEST MOVE MAKES A MOCKERY OF THE CONDITIONS OUTLINED IN THE DECEMBER 10 DEMARCHE. HIS DIKTAT LACKED LEGITIMACY, AND CANNOT BE SEEN AS A GOOD FAITH EFFORT TO RESOLVE THE POLITICAL IMPASSE IN ZAIRE.
- THE TRILATERAL PARTNERS MUST BE CAREFUL ABOUT AUTOMATICALLY ENDORSING ANY GOVERNMENT WHICH MAY EMERGE FROM MOBUTU'S INITIATIVE.
- THAT SAID, ARCHBISHOP MONSENGWO HAS ATTEMPTED TO MOVE LEGITIMATELY FROM THE HCR TO THE HCR-PT, AND HIS EFFORTS SEEM TO HAVE RECEIVED SUPPORT FROM AMONGST THE OPPOSITION.
- IF TSHISEKEDI REMAINS THE SOLE OBSTACLE TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A CREDIBLE INTERIM GOVERNMENT, IT WILL BE DIFFICULT FOR THE UNITED STATES TO CONDEMN

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THE NEW GOVERNMENT. WE HAVE ALWAYS EMPHASIZED PROCESS ABOVE PERSONALITIES IN ZAIRE.

- IF, AS SEEKS LIKELY, MOBUTU CONTINUES TO INTERFERE WITH THE TRANSITION, AND PARTICULARLY IF HE BLOCKS AN INTERIM GOVERNMENT'S ABILITY TO FUNCTION EFFECTIVELY, THE UNITED STATES IS PREPARED TO MOVE FORWARD WITH STRONGER MEASURES DIRECTED AGAINST MOBUTU.

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-- WE HAVE MADE NO DECISION ON SPECIFIC POLICY INITIATIVES, BUT THERE IS CONSIDERABLE PRESSURE IN CONGRESS AND AMONG NONGOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS TO BROADEN OUR RANGE OF ACTION IN ZAIRE. SOME OPTIONS TO CONSIDER MIGHT INCLUDE:

- IMPOSE AN ASSETS FREEZE ON MOBUTU AND HIS ENTOURAGE;
- SUPPORT FOR A STIFF RESOLUTION CONDEMNING MOBUTU AT THE CURRENT SESSION OF THE UN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION IN GENEVA;
- RESTRICTION OF AIR LANDING RIGHTS;
- DOWNGRADE DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS.

-- WHAT ARE THE FRENCH AND BELGIAN POSITIONS ON THESE OPTIONS? DO PARIS OR BRUSSELS HAVE OTHER SUGGESTIONS WHICH MIGHT SUPPORT EFFORTS TO MOVE THE PROCESS FORWARD?

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-- THE FRENCH HAVE PROPOSED A COURSE OF ACTION IN ZAIRE; WE WOULD WELCOME A DISCUSSION OF THE PLAN IN THIS FORUM.

4. RWANDA/BURUNDI

TO: AF - MR. MOOSE  
THROUGH: AF - MR. BRYNN  
FROM: AF/C - ARLENE RENDER  
SUBJECT: JANUARY 24 TRILATERAL: RWANDA/BURUNDI  
- ISSUES

| IF TIME PERMITS, RWANDA AND BURUNDI ARE EXPECTED TO BE  
DISCUSSED DURING THE JANUARY 24 TRILATERAL DISCUSSIONS ON  
ZAIRE. YOU SHOULD USE THIS OPPORTUNITY TO THANK THE  
BELGIANS AND FRENCH FOR THEIR SUPPORT TO THESE TWO  
COUNTRIES, OUTLINE WHAT WE OURSELVES ARE DOING, AND SOUND  
OUT THE BELGIANS AND FRENCH ON WHERE THEY THINK THESE TWO  
COUNTRIES ARE HEADED.

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BURUNDI

ON JANUARY 13, THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ELECTED AGRICULTURE  
MINISTER CYPRIEN NTARYAMIRA PRESIDENT BY A VOTE OF 78 TO  
1. NTARYAMIRA IS A HUTU, A FOUNDING MEMBER OF NDADAYE'S  
FRODEBU PARTY, AND A FORMER DIRECTOR GENERAL OF  
AGRICULTURE IN THE BUYOYA REGIME. THE UPRONA OPPOSITION  
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ACCEPTED NTARYAMIRA AFTER TWO DYS OF NEGOTIATIONS IN  
WHICH THE GOVERNMENT REPORTEDLY AGREED TO A POLITICAL  
TRUCE, GUARANTEES OF OPPOSITION REPRESENTATION IN THE  
CABINET, REGULAR CONSULTATIONS WITH THE OPPOSITION AND  
OTHER PARTS OF SOCIETY (INCLUDING THE MILITARY), AND FREE  
ACCESS TO THE MEDIA FOR ALL PARTIES. WE ISSUED A  
STATEMENT ON JANUARY 14 WELCOMING THIS POSITIVE  
DEVELOPMENT. THE ELECTION MUST STILL BE CERTIFIED BY THE  
CONSTITUTIONAL COURT. OPPOSITION EXTREMISTS HAVE FILED A  
CHALLENGE, BUT MOST OBSERVERS BELIEVE THAT THE COURT WILL  
CERTIFY THE RESULT.

THE 180-MAN OAU PROTECTIVE MISSION HAS NOT ARRIVED YET.  
OAU ENVOY FALL HAS RETURNED TO BURUNDI AND SAYS THAT THE  
OAU IS CURRENTLY CONSIDERING THE IMPLICATIONS FOR THE OAU  
INITIATIVE OF LAST WEEK'S POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS.  
OPPOSITION EXTREMISTS HAVE DEMONSTRATED AGAINST THE  
PROPOSED OAU MISSION AND FILED A LAWSUIT CHALLENGING ITS  
LEGALITY. IO INITIATED THE CASH TRANSFER OF 250,000 TO  
THE OAU FOR PEACEKEEPING EQUIPMENT BUT THE OAU HAS NOT  
YET CONFIRMED RECEIPT. THE BELGIANS ARE CONTRIBUTING 2  
MILLION OF THE ESTIMATED 3 MILLION NEEDED FOR THE  
OPERATION. FRANCE HAS EXPRESSED ITS WILLINGNESS TO  
ASSIST THE OAU EFFORT (E.G., THROUGH TROOP TRANSPORT) AND  
IS STILL PROVIDING SOME TECHNICAL PROTECTIVE ASSISTANCE  
TO THE GRB.

THERE ARE ABOUT 735,000 REFUGEES AND OVER 500,000  
DISPLACED. SO FAR THE U.S. HAS PROVIDED ABOUT 9 MILLION  
IN HUMANITARIAN AID, WITH BELGIUM PROVIDING A SIMILAR  
AMOUNT. WE DO NOT HAVE ESTIMATES OF FRANCE'S  
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HUMANITARIAN CONTRIBUTION.

RWANDA

THE IMPASSE OVER FORMATION OF THE NEW TRANSITION

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GOVERNMENT CONTINUED THIS WEEK, WITH NO SIGN OF ANY BREAKTHROUGH. THE SPLIT IN THE PL AND MDR PARTIES CONTINUES, AND THE PROBLEM OF COMPETING PARLIAMENTARY AND MINISTERIAL LISTS IS STILL UNRESOLVED. ALL SIDES ARE USING THE SPLITS TO TRY TO ENSURE THAT THE COMPOSITION OF THE NEW GOVERNMENT FAVORS THEIR GROUP.

THE UN WAS INFORMED THAT HABYARIMANA SUPPORTERS WERE BEING SUPPLIED ARMS FROM A WEAPONS CACHE, IN VIOLATION OF KIGALI'S STATUS AS A WEAPONS-SECURE ZONE. THE UN MADE A DEMARCHE ON HABYARIMANA TO PROTEST THIS PROBLEM, AND WE AND OUR WESTERN ALLIES MADE A SEPARATE DEMARCHE ON SECURITY TO REINFORCE THE UN MESSAGE. HABYARIMANA PROMISED UN SPECIAL REP BOOH BOOH THAT HE WOULD INVESTIGATE THE ARMS DISTRIBUTION QUESTION AND REPORT BACK. IF HE FAILS TO DO SO, BOOH BOOH PLANS TO FORWARD THE INFORMATION TO BOUTROS GHALI, WHO MIGHT THEN BRING IT TO THE ATTENTION OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL.

THE FRENCH WITHDREW THEIR FORCES IN MID-DECEMBER. THE UN NOW HAS ABOUT 1200 PERSONNEL ON THE GROUND, INCLUDING ABOUT 425 BELGIAN TROOPS. ON JANUARY 6, THE SECURITY COUNCIL APPROVED DEPLOYMENT OF A SECOND BATTALION TO THE DMZ.

TALKING POINTS:

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BURUNDI

-- WE ARE ENCOURAGED BY THE CONSENSUS THAT FORMED AROUND THE PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDACY OF NTARYAMIRA. WE WOULD BE INTERESTED TO HEAR YOUR VIEWS ON THE PROSPECTS FOR REAL RECONCILIATION FOLLOWING THE SELECTION OF NTARYAMIRA.

-- WE WELCOME YOUR WILLINGNESS TO ASSIST THE OAU PROTECTIVE FORCE. AS YOU KNOW, WE ARE ASSISTING WITH THE OAU'S EQUIPMENT NEEDS. WE CONTINUE TO BELIEVE THE OAU MISSION WILL HELP CONTRIBUTE TO SECURITY AND CONFIDENCE. WE WOULD BE INTERESTED TO KNOW WHETHER YOU THINK THE ELECTION OF NTARYAMIRA WILL FACILITATE DEPLOYMENT OF THE OAU MISSION OR SPARK EXTREMISTS TO INTENSIFY THEIR OPPOSITION.

-- SO FAR WE HAVE CONTRIBUTED 9 MILLION TO ASSIST

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BURUNDI REFUGEES AND DISPLACED. WE KNOW YOU HAVE  
ALSO CONTRIBUTED A GREAT DEAL AND HOPE YOU WILL  
CONTINUE TO ASSIST.

RWANDA

-- WE ARE CONCERNED BY THE CONTINUING IMPASSE OVER  
FORMATION OF THE TRANSITION GOVERNMENT. WE WOULD  
BE INTERESTED TO HEAR YOUR VIEWS ON THE PROSPECTS  
FOR A QUICK RESOLUTION.

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-- WE WELCOME BELGIUM'S WILLINGNESS TO PROVIDE TROOPS  
TO THE UN MISSION. WE BELIEVE THE PRESENCE OF  
BELGIAN AND OTHER UN FORCES HAS BEEN CRITICAL IN  
MAINTAINING THE PEACE DURING THE PROLONGED  
DEADLOCK OVER THE GOVERNMENT'S FORMATION.

5. REGARDS.

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